

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 17656 081941Z

13

ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01

/057 W

----- 047031

R 081043Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9913

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 17656

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, IN

SUBJECT: WEST BENGAL- BATTLEGROUND FOR PRO AND ANTI SANJAY  
GANDHI FORCES

FOL SENT ACTION NEWDELHI PRIORITY, INFO BOMBAY, MADRAS RPTD  
YOU FROM AMCONSUL CALCUTTA DEC 7, 1976 SIGNED KORN

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L CALCUTTA 3033

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, IN

SUBJ: WEST BENGAL - BATTLEGROUND FOR PRO AND ANTI  
SANJAY GANDHI FORCES

REF: CALCUTTA 3015

1. THE L.K. BOSE-P.R. DAS MUNSHI COALITION, FORMED  
THIS PAST WEEKEND, HELD A RALLY IN SOUTH CALCUTTA  
EVENING DECEMBER 6. BOSE, DAS MUNSHI AND THEIR F

-

LOWERS WERE JOINED BY MINISTER OF STATE FOR LABOR  
PRADIP BHATTACHARYA, ANOTHER OF THE STATE CONGRESS'  
YOUTH LEADERS WHO CAME TO PROMINENCE IN THE EARLY  
1970S; MINISTER OF STATE SUBRATA MUKHERJEE, WHO MADE  
HIS NAME IN THE CONGRESS YOUTH MORE ENT IN LATE 60S  
AND EARLY 70S ALONG WITH BOSE, DAS MUNSHI AND  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 17656 081941Z

BHATTACHARYA, WAS IVITED BUT STAYED AWAY FROM THE

MEETING. WHAT WE HAVE THUS FAR OF THE PROCEEDINGS IS FROM PRESS REPORTS, BUT EVEN THESE MAKE CLEAR THAT OPPOSITION TO SANJAY GANDHI - RATHER THAN SUPPORT OF CHIEF MINISTER RAY, WHO IN THEORY IS THE FOCUS OF THE CONTEST IN WEST BENGAL - WAS THE THEME THAT UNITED THE TWO GROUPS. ACCORDING TO ACCOUNTS IN STATESMAN AND MASS-CIRCULATION BENGALI LANGUAGE ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA, BOSE DENOUNCED "AN INDUSTRIALIST FROM PUNJAB" (I.E. SANJAY'S MAN KAMAL NATH) WHO HE SAID HAS BUSINESS INTERESTS IN CALCUTTA AND WANTS TO REAP THE BENEFITS OF A DIVISION BETWEEN CONGRESS YOUTH AND STUDENTS. DAS MUNSHI REPORTEDLY DECLARED THAT "WE HAVE ONLY ONE LEADER, MRS INDIRA GANDHI, AND THERE IS NO OTHER LEADER TO WHOM I OR THE NATION WILL SUBMIT WITHOUT QUESTION."

2. ON SAME EVENING CONGRESS FACTION LEADERS WHO SEEK RAY'S OUSTER MET ELSEWHERE IN THE CITY AND, ACCORDING TO CONGRESS-AFFILIATED AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, PLEDGED TO PURSUE THEIR EFFORTS. AMRITS SAY THIS GROUP INCLUDED MUKHERJEE, MINISTERS OF STATE ANANDA BISWAS AND GOBINDA NASKAR, WEST BENGAL CONGRESS GENERAL SECRETARY NARUL ISLAM AND VARIOUS OTHERS FROM MODERATE/CONSERVATIVE FACTIONS OF THE STATE CONGRESS.

3. IF IT LASTS, THE BOSE-DAS MUNSHI COALITION COULD PROVE A FORTIFIABLE ONE. BOSE AND DAS MUNSHI BETWEEN THEM CONTROL MOST OF THE YOUTH STREET GANGS IN CALCUTTA; SUBRATA MUKHERJEE IS THE ONLY OTHER CONGRESS LEADER WITH AN IMPORTANT STREET GANG FOLLOWING IN CALCUTTA, BUT HIS GROUP IS SMALLER THAN EITHER BOSE'S OR DAS MUNSHI'S AND IT IS BELIEVED UNLIKELY THAT HE WOULD CHALLENGE THEM. THUS BOSE AND DAS MUNSHI COULD, IF THEY WANTED, BRING FORCE TO BEAR AGAINST THEIR OPPONENTS AND CAUSE CONSIDERABLE DISRUPTION IN THE CITY. THE MODERATE/CONSERVATIVE GROUP WHICH OPPOSES RAY (AND BY IMPLICATION IS WORKING AGAINST SANJAY GANDHI) HAVE THEIR MAIN SOURCES OF STRENGTH IN THE COUNTRYSIDE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 17656 081941Z

4. THERE IS SOME SUSPICION HERE AND GROWING EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT IT - THAT DAS MUNSHI AND HIS FOLLOWERS IN THE CONGRESS LEFT, AND CPI, NOW THINK THAT THEY CAN MAKE A SUCCESSFUL STAND AGAINST SANJAY AND THAT WEST BENGAL IS THE PLACE TO DO IT. THEIR HOPE EVIDENTLY IS TO DEAL A BLOW TO SANJAY'S PRESTIGE AND POWER BY ROUTING HIS SUPPORTERS IN THE STATE CONGRESS AND KILLING THE MOVEMENT TO OUST CHIEF

MINISTER RAY; RAY'S RETAINING HIS POSITION WOULD BE THE SYMBOL OF THEIR VICTORY OVER SANJAY. IT IS AN AMBITIOUS PROGRAM, ONE THAT HAS ALREADY MADE THE STATE INTO A POLITICAL BATTLEGROUND AND WHICH COULD EASILY SPARK VIOLENCE. ITS CHANCES OF SUCCESS DEPEND LARGELY ON WHETHER L.K. BOSE STICKS WITH DAS MUNSHI AND HIS GROUP. WE UNDERSTAND THAT FRANTIC EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE BY THE CONSERVATIVE/MODERATE ANTI-RAY COALITION TO LURE BOSE AWAY FROM DAS MUNSHI.

5. CPI KALANTAR MADE ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAMPAIGN HERE AGAINST SANJAY IN AN EDITORIAL IN ITS DECEMBER 7 EDITION HEADED "ON SANJAY GANDHI". THE EDITORIAL ADDRESSES ITSELF TO SANJAY'S RECENT BARELY VEILED CRITICISMS OF THE CPI FOR ITS SUPPORT OF THE BRITISH DURING WORLD WAR II AND ASKS: "WHY THIS OUTBURST OF TEMPER BY SANJAY AGAINST THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS AND ANTI-COLONIALISTS?....SANJAY IS NOT ONLY RIDICULING THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS AND ANTI-COLONIALISTS, HE IS ALSO CASTING REFLECTIONS ON THE TRADITION OF THE INDIAN STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE. NO DOUBT SUCH COMMENTS CANNOT BUT PLEASE THE IMPERIALISTS, PARTICULARLY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF US IMPERIALISM AND THEIR SUPPORTERS IN THE COUNTRY." FULL TEXT OF KALANTAR EDITORIAL IS BEING SENT BY SEPTTEL. UNQTE SCHNEIDER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PROVINCE, POPULAR SUPPORT, POLITICAL LEADERS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 08 DEC 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** vogelfj  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976NEWDE17656  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760454-0715  
**From:** NEW DELHI  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19761262/aaaacbng.tel  
**Line Count:** 141  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION NEA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 76 CALCUTTA 3015  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** vogelfj  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 15 JUN 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <15 JUN 2004 by buchant0>; APPROVED <13 OCT 2004 by vogelfj>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** WEST BENGAL- BATTLEGROUND FOR PRO AND ANTI SANJAY GANDHI FORCES FOL SENT ACTION NEWDELHI PRIORITY, INFO BOMBAY, MA  
**TAGS:** PINT, IN, (GANDHI, SANJAY)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006